

593 taboo attached to the *wewnē*- relationship, there is a feeling of
 882 'shame' between them which persists throughout life. They
 would be 'ashamed' to talk to each other without other people
 present. If a man's *wewnē*- calls him to come and take some food
 from her he may do so, but more probably he will be 'ashamed'
 and will pretend not to hear her.

593 Jokes on sexual subjects may not be passed by anybody with
 831 a woman in the presence of her brother. But traditional stories
 576 involving sexual situations were told me freely by persons of both
 sexes in the presence of their *wewnē*-. It is not correct to bandy
 with a woman, while her brother is present, certain slightly im-
 proper words, which in the general way are looked upon much as
 we look on slang.¹ Still less should expressions which are actually
 regarded as obscene be used under these circumstances. One day
 a man living near me, in a rage with his wife, accused her of having
 improper relations with another man, using one of these expres-
 sions. Her brother overheard it, and was furious, not at such things
 having been said to his sister, but at their having been said in his
 hearing. He said he would go away, and then her husband could
 swear at her as much as he liked. He did actually leave the village,
 and did not return for several days, staying meanwhile with some
 people who were camping at the taro garden.

6. *Wagun* (term used reciprocally).

601 The use of this term and the next following will be best under-
 stood if considered in the light of the explanation given of the
 application of the terms *kiar* and *wewnē*-. *Wagun* is employed by
 males in reference to females and by females in reference to males,
 never between persons of the same sex. A man applies it to the
 wife of any one he calls *kiar*, and a wife to any one her husband
 calls *kiar*. We might say it applies to 'in-laws' of the same genera-
 tion as the speaker but of the opposite sex.

¹ The existence of this rule I learnt by breaking it. There is a certain word,
biak, an abbreviation of *bibiak*, which means 'faeces', but is used much as we
 use the expression 'Rot!' to indicate jocular disbelief in something that has been
 said. Having been taught this by Marotē as the proper retort to make on a
 previous occasion, I once jokingly countered with it a remark of her own. She
 immediately became quite serious and changed the subject. When she had me
 alone she explained that I ought not to have said it to her while her brother was
 listening. I was forgiven on the score of ignorance, and obtained much enlighten-
 ment on the rules of the *wewnē*- relationship as the result of my innocent breach
 of good manners.

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONS

513 his own to worry about, did not take much notice of her, in spite of her shy efforts to tend and please him. It was obvious that she was lonely and unhappy, although Kakari's mother, Matēv, was kind to her, and encouraged her to take her share in the life of the village. Before I left she had begun to settle down better, and the two of them might be seen going about together, but Kakari never seemed to appreciate her, though she was acknowledged to be an attractive girl.

LATER MARRIED LIFE

• [576] How much affection eventually grows up between the young husband and his still younger wife, it is difficult to say. Etiquette forbids any show of affection in public, and in such personal matters one is obliged, obviously, to rely largely upon inference. So far as my observation goes, it seemed to me that the younger men were often neglectful of their wives. This may in part have been due to shyness, but in more than one case known to me the youth was certainly carrying on an intrigue with another man's wife a couple of months or so after the consummation of his own marriage. Judging from external appearance, the early years of a young couple's life together seem, in many cases, to be difficult and perhaps unhappy. But man and wife eventually become accustomed to each other and settle down, especially when there are children, for the most part amicably enough. In later married life I noticed that deference was shown to a man's first wife, to whom he had been betrothed in childhood, beyond that bestowed upon subsequent wives, and if she were dead she was referred to in terms implying affection, at least this seemed to be the case with some of the men whose marriages came under discussion in the course of taking their genealogies. It was more difficult to get the women to talk about their husbands. Some old widows looked back upon their married lives with anything but pleasure, but in other cases there was evidence of real affection, an outstanding example being that of the widow, a middle-aged woman still not [574] unattractive, who begged that her husband might be buried in the house, and who was determined not to marry again because she had cared so much for him. This attitude was perfectly comprehensible to the village, and was said not to be unusual.

On the whole, I incline to think that a census of happy, unhappy, and tolerable marriages among these people would reveal about the

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593 Sobak treats as if he were his own. She is a hard worker, and lets the other women take advantage of her, making her carry the heaviest loads. Sobak does not make any more demands upon her as regards work than most men make on their wives. He always seems kind to her, and says she is a good wife. I have never heard him talk of beating her. Once she went on a visit to relatives at Hanahan and stayed several days. Sobak was very worried, and told me he was afraid some man there was keeping her away, but all was well when she came back.

Tsonakets has a sister, who was also married at Hanahan, but after her husband's death she came to live in Sobak's household at Kurtatchi, bringing her three little boys. Sobak takes care of them all. In the ordinary way he would have married her, but he does not wish to offend the priest by taking another wife, so he says he is not going to do so.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

837 In this society, where marriage at or before arrival at sexual maturity is the rule, it follows that such illicit intercourse as may take place will be between persons each of whom is married to another individual.

837 In the olden days, according to my informants, adultery was regarded as a very serious offence, the penalty for discovery being death to both parties. The man's relatives would be responsible

684 [596] for the exaction of the penalty in the case of the man, and the woman's in the case of the woman, no retaliation being offered on

[266] either side. An old cannibal of Saposa further stated that the bodies of such offenders were eaten, but at Kurtatchi they said that this final insult was only for those who committed a particularly abhorrent kind of incest (see p. 68). It seems feasible to suppose that the actual state of affairs may have been idealized a little in reminiscence, and that clandestine intercourse was neither so rare nor so drastically punished as report would lead one to believe. In the tales, honour was often satisfied by a fight, and this is a usual outcome nowadays. In some instances, particularly if the advances of the suitor had been unwelcome, he was taken to the beach, where spears and arrows were shot at him. But apparently he was allowed to shoot in return. In answer to questions, arising out of such stories, I was told that this was a true account of what actually [685] used to happen, not merely a made-up tale. It is noteworthy that the same punishment was meted out to any one caught stealing ceremonial currency.

837 Whatever may have been the state of things in the past, there

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you must not go near her. She will be unhappy because of you, and will not be able to eat. Next day she will climb a tree and call out to all the men to find you and fight you, because you have scorned her. She will say: 'Why does he run away from me, I want him.' Then she will want you so much that she will go to your hut. (This is a grave breach of etiquette.) Her brother will be very angry, and will come to you and ask why you have done this to his sister. Then you will tell him it is because he seduced your sister.

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This magic must be taught to no one except the possessor's sister's son.

I could never learn of any medicine to be used by a woman for taking revenge on a man who had abandoned her. It was noteworthy that, although some of the magic connected with love-making was known to and used by women, the great majority of my informants on this subject were men, the women seeming neither to know nor to care so much about this means of attracting a partner as the men did. Perhaps they feel more sure of the efficacy of their own personal charms. However that may be, it is certain that lovers are not lacking to any woman who wants them.

A woman desiring sexual intercourse with a man who does not make advances to her will, when opportunity arises, lie down in his presence with her legs apart, a position otherwise regarded as indecent. The word *pagan* means to adopt it deliberately for this purpose. If a woman exposes her genitals, even unwittingly, as in sleep, the situation is liable to be taken advantage of by any man whose passions may thereby be aroused. Both types of incident figure frequently in my collection of tales, as well as in village gossip. The proper behaviour for a woman is to sit or lie with her legs stretched out in front of her, keeping them close together. This is still the rule, although every adult now wears a loin-cloth. A young man once brought his little son, aged about three, to play on my verandah. The child sat down with his legs straight out, and another man immediately began to laugh. When I asked what the joke was, he said that the baby was sitting down like a girl.

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SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

The people say there was a time when they had no knowledge of the sexual act, but men copulated with women at their armpits, and it was thought that the female genitalia were intended to provide them with lime in which to dip their areca-nut. The proper way to do it was taught first to the people of Tsiraun (Nissan), by

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ADOLESCENT BOYS

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actual method of dyeing is the same as that well known to the coast people, who use it for colouring pandanus leaves to ornament the women's hoods. The secret possessed by the mountain people is the use of a mordant which sets the dye and renders it more or less permanent, the untreated colour quickly fading in the sun and being washed out by rain. The procedure for dyeing the red leaves for the *upi* is as follows: The leaves of the *win* palm are picked while they are green, and are put into a length of bamboo and dried over the fire. When thoroughly dry, they are taken out and put in the sun until bleached white, then hung in the rafters of the hut where the smoke of the fire will reach them. This colours them a light brown, and also helps to preserve them, and they remain there until needed. When it is intended to dye them, the roots of the tree called in the Kunua dialect *boridor*, which is the same as that known to the Kurtatchi people as *riri* (*Morinda citrifolia*), are put, with some water, into a length of bamboo which must be freshly cut. Some of the bark of the tree called *kaifika* in the Kunua dialect is soaked in cold water and squeezed out into the bamboo. This forms the mordant. (I obtained a piece of the bark and specimens of the leaves of this tree, but unfortunately it cannot be identified, and the quantity is too small to permit of analysis.) The *win* leaves are pushed into the bamboo and the whole laid on the embers of a smouldering fire. When the colour is considered deep enough, the leaves are taken out and washed in cold water, and then laid in the sun until they are dry. Thus prepared, they are sold in bundles of ten, enough for one *upi*, for goods or tobacco to the value of about 2s. in our money. They are called *kokoman* in the Kurtatchi dialect.

As I had not brought enough *kokoman* back with me from Kunua to provide for all the *upi*, a trip was made to a group of hill villages behind the north coast to arrange for a further supply. Eight of the most important men of the village went on this journey. None of the *upi* boys were permitted to go, but I accompanied the party by invitation. We brought seven loin-cloths to pay for seven sets of *kokoman* leaves, enough for seven *upi*. It was arranged that the hill people should bring them down to Kurtatchi when they were ready. This they did twelve days later. They were received with blowing of conch-shells and beating of the slit-gong with the rhythm */// /// /// ... I*. The leaves were carefully put away in the *tabar*.

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SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

431 sex). This applies also to the extension of that relationship beyond
602 the scope of the blood tie as it appears in genealogies (this is dis-
cussed on p. 33). No direct payment is offered or expected in
such a case, but the recipient is, of course, liable to be called upon
in his turn.

431 Apart from this, the native expects neither to give nor to receive
'something for nothing', unless it be a smouldering ember, which
corresponds to our asking for a match.

[465] An exception to this occurs in the case of plantation labourers
returning from their three years of service. A certain proportion
of their earnings is paid to them as a lump sum at the end of their
'time', and this they usually expend on knives, mouth-organs, and
such other trifles as their hearts delight in. But as soon as they
return to their own village, friends and relations crowd around,
expecting the treasures to be divided amongst them, so that very
soon the unfortunate owner has little to show for his labour except
the memory of having been for a brief moment the hero of the
village.

RECIPROCAL EXCHANGES

There are many occasions on which a presentation of some article,
usually a package of ceremonial pudding, is reciprocated by the
return, at some future, but not too far distant, time, of a precisely
similar article. It would be a gross breach of etiquette to omit to
[576] 'back' such a gift in appropriate fashion. When we went to meet
the women of Baniu to trade with them for good taro stalks for
planting, we took with us some large packets of ceremonial pudding
to give to one of them in return for some that had been given on
the occasion of Muben's marriage to Kakari several months before.

PROPERTY

Land.

[423] The land belongs to the village group. But the rights in it are
vested in the *tsunam tsan*, the man of greatest importance in the
425 village or group of hamlets. He may sell it, either to other natives
565 or to white men, but in practice he would consult the older men of
the village before arranging such a transaction. No such deal went
through during my residence, and I have no details of prices or
media of payment.¹ Pinari had a grudge against Karabun, the

¹ The District Officer now supervises all buying of land by white people from
natives, and adjudicates over the price, which is paid in money. Some of the

SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

423 she must buy it, paying in any commodity that happens to be available. But when a big feast, such as the *watawuts*, is held, [62] each must contribute to the common stock for the entertainment [57N] of the vast crowds of visitors who will arrive for the occasion.

423 Portions of land are allotted by the *tsunaun* to any one who wishes to plant coco-nut palms.¹ These trees are then his personal 565 property, and no one would take nuts from them without his consent, 602 except such near relatives as children, or brothers and sisters, 576 both blood and classificatory. However thirsty a man may be while on a journey, he would not think of climbing a coco-nut palm to shake down nuts, unless he came to a grove to whose owner he stood in such relationship.

423 Ownership is also recognized in certain trees, such as those used for making dug-out canoes, or those valued for their fruit, such as the canarium almond. It may be established by planting the tree, or inherited from a relative who planted. These trees will be on land which, though vested in the *tsunaun*, and said to 'belong to' him, is used by the whole group, as explained in a previous paragraph, so that the ownership of trees is differentiated from the ownership of the land they stand on. To a great extent it is true [71] here, as is described by Thurnwald at Buin (1912, p. 34), that property is connected chiefly with the results of work.

Pigs.

422 Pigs rank as property next in importance to strings of *imun* and above *beroan*. They are entirely personal possessions, and may be 231 owned by anybody, man, woman, or child. A man with no pigs is 554 regarded as poor, but there is nothing to prevent him from gaining prestige in the village by other means. Sobak, one of the prominent rain-makers of Kurtatchi, had no pigs, and though this was sometimes the subject of rather jeering comment, it did not prevent him from receiving a certain amount of deference in view of his skill at rain-making. But a man without pigs is debarred from certain privileges. For example, only a man who can produce ten pigs may [342] build a *tobar* (boys' house), and those wishing to make use of this 427 *tobar* pay a pig to the owner, except the boys wearing the *upi*, who are exempt.

231 Each person knows his own pigs individually, treats them as

¹ The Government has now instituted a rule that every man must plant ten coco-nut palms for each of his children at birth.

DREAMS

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with the man. The next day the man will say to the woman: 'I dreamed about you last night. My skin wants you.' Then if the woman is willing they go to the bush (implying that they have sexual intercourse there). 159
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It was made clear in subsequent conversation that the speaker had in mind the occurrence of 'reciprocal dreams', in which both parties dreamed simultaneously of the other. A similar report was made by Sakwan of Pororan:

Sometimes a man will dream of a woman; that he is sleeping with her and that they have sexual connexion. In the morning the man who has dreamed will go to the woman and say: 'I dreamed of you last night.' She will reply: 'Yes, I know, for I dreamed of you too.' Sometimes a woman will dream of a man in like manner, and the man will know that he has been dreamed of by that certain woman. (Notes supplied by Mr. Gordon Thomas.)

Both these accounts were given as generalized statements, not as actual dreams.

Persons other than the dreamer are involved also in the following, which appears to have been an actual dream, though not of the night before:

Sometimes my dreams come true. Once I dreamed that a certain man went to the house of a certain girl and they walked about together with his arm round her neck. Afterwards I went to the man and told him the dream, and he said: 'True, I did walk about with my arm round the girl's neck.' He was very much ashamed that I had dreamed such a thing.

Comment by the recorder. Etiquette forbids any show of affection between lovers in public. The couple in question were shortly afterwards married by the missionary. [576]

On one occasion, after my return from a trip during which I had left my native servant in charge of my house at Kurtatchi, he told me that during my absence the following incident had occurred:

(No. 24) One night I thought I heard some one knocking on the wall of the house, and I got the torch to look, but there was no one to be seen. Then I went to sleep and dreamed a woman came under the house and knocked on the floor, and asked me to have intercourse with her, but I would not. Next day I found out that the people in the village were talking about me, and saying that women came to me at night. But that is not true, I do nothing but sleep at night.

The belief in the efficacy of certain 'prescriptions' involving dreams may be due to their use having been coincident with success 159
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